

Message Text

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SUBJECT: KISSINGER, KENNAN DISCUSS ANGOLA IN DANISH PAPER

SUMMARY: DANISH PAPER, POLITIKEN, CARRIED SYNDICATED COLUMN WITH ARTICLES BY KISSINGER AND KENNAN CONCERNING U.S. POSTURE IN ANGOLA. SECRETARY'S POSITION ECHOES SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH WHILE KENNAN CRITICIZES U.S. POSTURE. POLITIKEN EDITORIAL IS RATHER NEGATIVE TO US POSITION AND ATTEMPTS TO TIE TOGETHER ANGOLA AND VIETNAM. END SUMMARY.

2. POLITIKEN (INDEPENDENT-LEFT OF CENTER) FEB. 16 CARRIED SIGNED FEATURE ARTICLES FROM "INTERNATONAL DIALOGUE" ON DEBATE PAGE BY HENRY KISSINGER AND GEORGE KENNAN, DISCUSSING WHETHER U.S.A.

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SHOULD HAVE INTERVENED MORE STRONGLY IN ANGOLA. PAPER AT

SAME TIME HAD EDITORIAL IN FAVOR OF MORE FLEXIBLE U.S. APPROACH
IN FUTURE TOWARD SOVIET PRESENCE IN OTHER PARTS OF WORLD.

2. UNDER THREE-COLUMN HEADLINE, "SOVIET POWER MUST BE
CHECKED WITHOUT MAJOR WAR," SECRETARY OF STATE EXPLAINED HOW
WESTERN WORLD STILL SHOULD PURSUE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT IN
ORDER TO DIRECT SOVIET POWER INTO CONSTRUCTIVE CHANNELS. KISS-
INGER SAID IN CENTER PARAGRAPHS OF ARTICLE:

"ANGOLA IS FIRST CASE WHERE SOVIET UNION HAS DEMONSTRATED
ITS LONG-RANGE MILITARY POWER WITH AIM OF ESTABLISHING REGIME
TO ITS OWN LIKING. IT IS FIRST TIME U.S.A. HAS NOT MANAGED TO
REACT AGAINST SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION OUTSIDE SOVIET SPHERE
OF INFLUENCE. AND IT IS FIRST TIME CONGRESS HAS STOPPED
AMERICAN SUPPORT IN MIDDLE OF CRISIS. WHEN SUPER POWER, BY
INTERVENING MILITARY IN LOCAL CONFLICT IN DECISIVE DEGREE,
UPSETS ESTABLISHED BALANCE OF POWER -- WITHOUT ANY OPPOSITION
-- THEN OMINOUS PRECEDENT HAS BEEN CREATED WHICH MAY HAVE MOST
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES, EVEN WHEN INTERVENTION TAKES PLACE IN APPARENTLY
REMOTE AREA. SUCH PRECEDENT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED IF LASTING
DETENTE IS TO BE OBTAINED. IF SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IS NOT
BROKEN ALREADY NOW, THEN WE WILL FACE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT
DECISIONS AND HIGHER COSTS IN FUTURE. TO SAY THAT ANGOLA IS
COUNTRY WITHOUT IMPORTANCE OR THAT U.S.A. HAS NO SPECIAL
INTERESTS IN THIS AREA IS ONLY TO EVADE QUESTION."

3. KENNAN STRESSED IN HIS ARTICLE -- UNDER TWO-COLUMN
HEADING, "WE MUST AVOID MISTAKES LIKE WAR IN VIETNAM" --
THAT IT IS "OUR GOVERNMENT'S DUTY TO DEVELOP SET OF PRINCIPLES
AND METHODS WHICH WILL ENABLE IT TO DEFEND ITS INFLUENCE IN
OVERSEAS AREAS AND WHICH WILL SPARE US MISTAKES SUCH AS
THOSE WE HAVE EXPERIENCED NOT ONLY IN VIETNAM BUT ALSO IN
OTHER COUNTRIES." RESERVING HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS KISSINGER'S
POLICY, KENNAN SAID THAT "FIRST OF ALL, IT IS IMPORTANT TO
RECOGNIZE THAT NOT ALL PLACES AND AREAS ARE OF SAME IMPORTANCE...
SECONDLY, WE HAVE TO JUDGE THE KIND OF GAIN WHICH A SUPER
POWER, IN THIS CASE THE SOVIET UNION, CAN HOPE TO OBTAIN BY
ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH ITS INFLUENCE FAR FROM ITS BORDERS...
THIRDLY, WE HAVE TO BECOME MORE SCRUPULOUS ABOUT MEANS OR
ALLIES WITH WHOM WE WORK... AND FINALLY, WE HAVE TO FACE
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FACT THAT WE IN MANY CASES CANNOT REACH OUR OBJECTIVES ALONE
AND BY OUR OWN EFFORTS."

4. REFLECTING ITS OWN POSITION FROM VIETNAM PERIOD, POLITIKEN
COMMENTED EDITORIALY ON ARTICLES, "KISSINGER HAS DIFFICULTY
IN EXPLAINING WHY ANGOLA SHOULD HAVE SUCH HIGH PRIORITY FOR
WASHINGTON. HE RESORTS TO ARGUMENT WHICH HAS BEEN DEMOLISHED
BY VIETNAM WAR; NAMELY, THAT U.S.A. SHOULD ACT IN ORDER THAT

REST OF WORLD BELIEVE THAT WE CAN ACT. WE, ON OTHER
HAND, THINK THAT KISSINGER THEREBY DISCLOSES THAT HE UNDER NO
CIRCUMSTANCES DARES TO REFRAIN FROM ACTION. GEORGE KENNAN
IS RIGHT IN WHAT HE ALWAYS HAS SAID THAT EACH AREA HAS
DIFFERENT IMPORTANT FOR U.S.A. AND ITS ALLIES, AND THAT
DIFFERENT ACTIONS ARE CALLED FOR IN EACH CASE. TIME HAS COME
TO GRASP THAT."

5. COMMENT: SECRETARY'S AND KENNAN'S ARTICLES WERE PUT
TOGETHER FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE SYNDICATE BY VICTOR ZORZA
AND PRESUMABLY SENT TO MANY PERIODICALS. POLITIKEN REACTION
REFLECTS PAPER'S LEFT-OF-CENTER STANCE AND USUAL REVERSION TO
"I TOLD YOU SO" ATTITUDE ON VIETNAM. DESPITE JUXTAPOSITON
WITH KENNAN ARTICLE AND POLITIKEN EDITORIAL, SECRETARY'S MESSAGE,
WHICH APPEARS TO BE EDITED FROM SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH, COMES
THROUGH CLEARLY AND WITHOUT DISTORTION.
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